

THE CONFLUENCE OF TWO TRADITIONS : VOCAL AND INSTRUMENTAL ELEMENTS IN 16TH-CENTURY SOLO INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC

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This study deals with questions of style in the abstract instrumental music of the sixteenth century and a methodology for tracing stylistic evolution. It is a methodology which was designed for a specific project relating to the fantasias written for the vihuela, but which I believe has much broader application ⁽¹⁾. The focus here will be on the methodology itself, although it will be necessary to refer extensively to the way it has been applied to the music of the vihuela and the conclusions that were drawn as a result. By means of preliminary explanation, it is necessary to clarify some of the assumptions upon which the methodology is based, and the issues that gave rise to its formulation. These issues relate to the nature of the sixteenth-century fantasia and *ricercar* ⁽²⁾.

The fantasia was the most unrestricted genre available to sixteenth-century instrumental composers due to its lack of formal constraints and conventions. A considerable amount of enterprise has been expended upon the definition of the fantasia of the sixteenth century, but often without illuminating the mysteries of its fantasy ⁽³⁾. The most satisfactory definitions have been those which delineate a practice through the description of external features such as textures and devices. The descriptive never attains conceptual significance, as it is difficult to account for the process involved in fantasia composition or to define any constructional pattern that could be regarded as "fantasia form". In the sense that it is an undefinable form with a definable practice, it is thus directly analogous to contemporary vocal composition, the motet in particular offers the most direct parallels. As a genre, the fantasia is a species of polyphonic "song without words" in which instrumentalists sought to compose works often of similar character to the polyphony of the motet, but frequently utilizing textural and polyphonic devices more inherent to the instrument. The aesthetic and structural dimensions are, however, predictably similar to those of vocal music. The fantasia composer essentially was the author of works whose rhetorical program was made abstract through the absence of the

(1) John Griffiths, "The Vihuela fantasia: A Comparative Study of forms and Styles", Ph. D., Monash University, 1983.

(2) The terms «fantasia» and «ricercar» were used interchangeably in the repertory of the sixteenth century. In this study, the term «fantasia» is used generically to include all abstract works of this genre. See H. C. Slim, "The Keyboard Ricercar and Fantasia in Italy, c. 1500-1550, with Reference to Parallel Forms in European Lute Music of the Same Period", Ph. D., Harvard University, 1960.

(3) Recent contributions to this field include: Gregory Butler, "The Fantasia as Musical Image", *Musical Quarterly*, 60 (1974), p. 602-15; John Caldwell, "Ricercare", *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, London, Macmillan, 1980; Martin Kemp, "From *Mimesis* to *Fantasia*: the Quattrocento vocabulary of creation, inspiration and genius in the visual arts", *Viator*, 8 (1977), p. 347-398; Warren Kirkendale, "Ciceronians versus Aristotelians on the Ricercar as Exordium", *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 32 (1979), p. 1-44; Paul Martell, "Parody versus Paraphrase in G. P. Paladino's *Fantasia Alcun non puo saper*", *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, 19 (1986), p. 1-12; Anthony Newcomb, "When The *stile antico* Was Young", *Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia: Trasmissione e ricezione delle forme di cultura musicale*, Turin, EDT Edizione di Torino, 1990, vol. 3, p. 175-82.

controlling factor of text. The textbook definition of the fantasia as an "instrumental motet" is a broad generalization but remains valid, despite any shortcomings. It was this simple definition that offered the greatest clarity to me at least, and what I have tried to do is respond to a challenge proposed now nearly forty years ago by John Ward, and which has remained largely unanswered. The methodology I have developed attempts to resolve what John Ward noted as :

... an important problem in 16th century instrumental music : namely to what extent the fantasia was indebted to vocal polyphony, not in terms of immediate borrowing, but more generally in matters of style. The usual textbook reference to the fantasia as an instrumental motet is open to serious question, particularly when no attempt has been made to differentiate stylistically within the large and highly diversified corpus of 16th-century fantasias ⁽⁴⁾..

It is evident that the evolution of solo instrumental music in the sixteenth century resulted from the confluence of two traditions. Without doubt, the vocal repertory was the focal point for musical development throughout the renaissance. It was also the domain for the greatest part of the intellectual development of music, and the generator of the dominant aesthetic of music. The ideas and sounds of the vocal repertory were a principal source of influence to all those who composed during the sixteenth century, irrespective of medium.

There is also sufficient if not sometimes elusive evidence to confirm the existence of a long tradition of virtuoso instrumental performance. Generations of composer-improvisors extend backwards into the haziness of an unwritten tradition with only relatively fragmentary verification of their existence. Notated evidence is restricted to a small number of manuscripts all be they sometimes rich in content ⁽⁵⁾. Recent study is also revealing an increasing amount of detail of performers and practices ⁽⁶⁾. To this inherited tradition, instrumentalists continued to make their contributions, and from 1500 the evidence becomes increasingly clear due to the advent of specific instrumental notation. New contributions to this tradition would inevitably have been the embodiment of various elements : to a base of accumulated tradition, performer-composers would have brought the experience derived from their own practice, and flavoured by the ideas and sounds of their age. This would also have been complemented by the intuitively derived practices that are born of the interaction between player and instrument.

The problem that confronts us now is that of finding a means to assess and define the musical style of a genre that has no standard reference point, no archetype or formal model. Implicit in this statement is that style evaluation necessarily involves a process of comparative judgement. Normally, comparative evaluation can be made in either of two ways : by comparison of a group of items to a single standard, an archetype which in this case cannot be established, or by comparison of all items in a sample to one another using some common set of criteria. The second of these is the formula adopted here. The problem became that of determining the evaluative criteria. This has been achieved here by establishing parameters that define the principal fields of operation of the fantasia and to assess the repertory within these confines. Instead of trying to measure the degree to which any individual work conforms to a notional model of an instrumental motet, I have sought to define the stylistic boundaries of the repertory and attempted to locate each individual work at a specific point within those boundaries. These parameters have been established on the basis of

(4) John Ward, "The *Vihuela de mano* and its Music, 1536-1576", Ph. D., New York University, 1953, p. 237.

(5) Included among these sources are manuscripts such as the Faenza codex, the Buxheimer Orgelbuch and the *istanpita* included in London, British Library, Add. 29987.

(6) See, for example, William Prizer, "Lutenists at the Court of Mantua in the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries", *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, 13 (1980), p. 5-34; Keith Polk, "Vedel und Geige – Fiddle and Viol : German String Traditions in the Fifteenth Century", *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 42 (1989), p. 504-46; Andrés Descalzo, "Músicos en la corte de Pedro IV el Ceremonioso (1336-1387)", *Revista de Musicología*, 13 (1990), p. 81-122.

the separate vocal and instrumental traditions that contributed to the evolution of the genre. It is an attempt to define quantitatively the degree to which works were generated by instrumental practice on the one hand, and by polyphonic considerations on the other. It is an attempt to come to a more precise, scientific understanding of the degree to which both the instrumental and vocal traditions exerted influence upon the composition of the abstract repertory for solo instruments. Such a methodology not only provides significant insight to the position of individual works within their tradition, it also allows the location of the output of single composers within the tradition and, ultimately, definition of the process of change or evolution within that tradition.

The repertory study for which this methodology was developed includes the 219 known fantasias for the vihuela. 217 of these are found in the tablatures published by Luis Milán, Luis Narváez, Alonso Mudarra, Enriquez de Valderrábano, Diego Pisador, Miguel Fuenllana and Esteban Daza between 1536 and 1576 ⁽⁷⁾. Two additional works conserved in MS 6001 from the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, the *Ramillete de flores* (1593) were also included ⁽⁸⁾. A preliminary working view of the repertory can be seen from simple classification of the repertory based on the predominant procedures used in composition. These classes are broad and not mutually exclusive of one another. Using the terminology frequently found in modern literature, nine types can be defined. Six of these are simple categories based on a single procedure: 1 Polythematic imitation, 2 monothematic imitation, 3 ostinato, 4 parody, 5 non-imitative polyphony, and 6 idiomatic writing. A further three types are built from the alternation of sections of music from the preceding styles: 7 non-imitative + imitative, 8 idiomatic + imitative, 9 idiomatic + non-imitative.

While classification along these lines is a contemporary construct, some of the relevant terms and ideas are derived from source materials. The titles give evidence from what was evidently the standard type. Thus, nowhere in the sources is there reference to the imn to vihuela fantasias by their composers frequently provide information relating particularly to works that ditative fantasia. Imitation was obviously the normal means of construction and generally the only additional information found in titles or rubrics of such works specifies mode, the number of voices, the intended tuning of the vihuela, tempo, or the degree of difficulty of the pieces for the performer. Other kinds of fantasias have titles which explain their function or process. These titles can be catalogued into three broad areas that describe either the use of particular idiomatic textures, parody technique, or the use of pre-existing melodic material treated either as *cantus firmus* or ostinato ⁽⁹⁾. These are outlined as follows:

(7) Luis Milán, *Libro de Musica de vihuela de mano intitulado El Maestro*, Valencia, Francisco Diaz Romano, 1536; Luis de Narváez, *Los seys libros del Delphin de musica de cifras para tañer Vihuela*, Valladolid, Diego Fernández de Córdoba, 1538; Alonso Mudarra, *Tres Libros de Musica en Cifras para Vihuela*, Sevilla, Juan de León, 1546; Enriquez de Valderrábano, *Libro de Musica de Vihuela, intitulado Silva de sirenas*, Valladolid, Francisco Fernández de Córdoba, 1547; Diego Pisador, *Libro de Musica de Vihuela*, Salamanca, the author, 1552; Miguel Fuenllana, *Libro de Musica de Vihuela, intitulado Orphenica lyra*, Sevilla, Martin de Montedoca, 1554; Esteban Daza, *Libro de Musica en cifras para Vihuela intitulado el Parnasso*, Valladolid, Diego Fernández de Córdoba, 1576.

(8) J. J. Rey, *Ramillete de flores*, Madrid, Alpuerto, 1976. One of the fantasias is by a contemporary of Narváez named López. The other is attributed in the manuscript to Fabricio, in all probability Fabricio Dentice, the Italian lutenist and composer whose work survives in several Spanish sources, and not Fabricio Fillimarino as claimed by Rey.

(9) Enriquez de Valderrábano, *Libro de música de vihuela intitulado Silva de Sirenas*, ed. Emilio Pujol, 2 vols., (Coll. « Monumentos de la Música Española », 22-23), Barcelona, Instituto Español de Musicología, 1965. In vol. I, pp. 29-30, a lists of epithets used in vihuela fantasia titles is mixed with others apparently of Pujol's own invention. The terms "*de pasos trenzados*", and "*de pasos sueltos*" do not occur in any of the vihuela sources, although the last two are derived from Sancta Maria who uses them to describe two kinds of imitation; concurrent and consecutive.

Titles describing texture

The titles of idiomatic works generally give an indication of their instrumental texture. Most of these works involve the use of diminution; others revolve around homophonic, non-imitative textures. Many fulfil a similar function to that of the nineteenth-century *etude*, that is, serving to develop aspects of instrumental technique.

Fantasia... [de] consonancias mezcladas con redobles is a title used exclusively by Luis Milán to describe works with sections of contrasting texture: passages of rapid diminutions (*redobles*) alternating with passages of chords (*consonancias*), being sometimes purely homophonic and other times passages of imitation.

Fantasia... para hazer soltura de dos dedos, and *Fantasia... para hazer dedillo* are titles also exclusively used by Milán. These pieces are from within the preceding category, but additionally specify the use of particular right-hand techniques. *Dos dedos* is thumb and index finger alternation, and *dedillo* is the backwards and forwards motion of the index finger, using the fingertip in the manner of a plectrum.

Fantasia de passos largos para desenvolver las manos is a term used by Mudarra and Daza to mean 'in long passages (of diminution) to develop the hands.' Most of these pieces alternate passages of diminutions with sections in imitative style. Several abbreviated versions of the title appear in the books of the two composers: ... *de passos largos*, ...*para desenvolver las manos*, ...*de passos desenvueltos*, or merely *de passos*. Fuenllana also uses the term *Fantasia para desemboltura de manos* to describe the first nine fantasias of his *libro quarto*. These are in fact polythematic imitative works (with one monothematic exception) and do not contain passages of diminution. They distinguish themselves from the bulk of Fuenllana's works only by being shorter and somewhat easier to perform, so that the title apparently only conveys a didactic intention.

Fantasia de redobles is the title of one piece by Fuenllana and is a work of imitative style whose themes and free voices contain many passages of quick notes.

Fantasia de contrapunto is the title of one work by Valderrábano, no. 13. It denotes a polyphonic imitative piece of rapid speed with more imitation than is commonly the composer's habit, and a light texture concentrating on *semininima* rather than *minima* movement.

Fantasia de consonancia(s) appears as title to works by Narváez, Valderrábano, and Fuenllana. All are non-imitative through-composed works of primarily homophonic design with passing-notes linking the consonances or chords.

Titles indicating Parody technique

Valderrábano and Fuenllana both composed fantasias acknowledged by them as parodies of works of other composers. Fuenllana headed both of his works *Fantasia remedando a*, [fantasia imitating]. Valderrábano used the same title as well as several others: *Fantasia sobre...* [fantasia upon], *Fantasia contrahecha a* [fantasia imitating], *Fantasia. acomodada de* [fantasia composed upon], and *Fantasia hecha sobre...* [fantasia made upon]. The variety of appellations is apparently for variety of language; no stylistic difference is discernible. Milán parodied one of his own works and it has as its title *Fantasia que remeda a...* [fantasia imitating]. Mudarra's most famous fantasia imitates the style of another musician, a harpist, and is titled *Fantasia que contrahaze...* [fantasia which imitates...].

Titles of *Cantus Firmus* works

Fantasias based on a *cantus firmus* were composed by Narváez, Mudarra, Pisador, and Fuenllana. Whether treated as an ostinato or as an imitative theme, the composers give the solmization syllables of the *cantus firmus* as part of the title. Pisador gave his works of this type the generic title *Fantasias sobre passos remedados*, perhaps suggesting that the themes were not of his own invention. Each work by Pisador, Narváez and Mudarra is simply titled *Fantasia sobre...*, followed by the solmization syllables. *Fantasia sobre un passo forçado* followed by solmization syllables is Fuenllana's way of describing the same, and he uses *...sobre un passo foroso* to denote an ostinato work, although he used *forsado* in the table of contents entry of the same work.

Miscellaneous Titles

Fantasia... por otra parte indicates a fantasia, including many by Milán, composed using a transposed mode. This was often explained by vihuelists as placing the work 'on another part' of the vihuela's fingerboard to that customarily used for the given mode. Such shifts resulted in the modal final being located on a different string and fret, and was regarded by them as a change of *término*. More specific appendages are given by Narváez and Daza. Works in mode 1 transposed to a G final are designated by both as *Fantasia... por Gsolreut*. A similar transposition by Daza to an A final of a mode 4 piece is titled *Fantasia... por Alamire*. *Fantasia suelta* is the title given by Valderrábano to his non-parody works, irrespective of their style differences. It designates works 'free' of borrowed material.

Fantasia llana, meaning 'plain fantasia', is used by Pisador to signify a simple, technically easy work.

Fantasia de passos de contado is the title of one work by Mudarra. Venegas de Henestrosa makes reference to a similar texture to that of Mudarra's fantasia in his discussion of *redoble* technique of the vihuela :

«... the fourth type of *redoble* is with the second and third fingers [i.e. index and middle of the right hand], which is good for carrying the *cantus firmus* with the thumb, and playing the two fingers with the two fingers *de contado*.»⁽¹⁰⁾

It can be assumed that *passos de contado* are melodies or motives in quick time values moving above a *cantus firmus*.

Even the nine types described above using modern terminology offer more subtlety of description than previous studies. The study in John Ward's dissertation has been the most comprehensive. He, however, classified the repertory into three broad categories : parody fantasias, monothematic fantasias and polythematic fantasias⁽¹¹⁾. Each type represents works constructed upon different principles, on borrowed polyphonic material, *cantus firmus* themes, and imitative polyphony. These three types undoubtedly constitute the largest groups within the repertory, but the categories must be stretched beyond reasonable limits in order comfortably to accommodate some of the less conventional works. They thus highlight central tendencies rather than

(10) Venegas de Henestrosa *Libro de Cifra Nueva*, fol. 8v, reprinted in Higinio Anglés, *La música en la corte de Carlos V*, 2 vols. (Coll. « Monumentos de la Música Española », II, III), Barcelona, CSIC, 1944, 2^a edn, 1965, vol. I, p. 160.

(11) John Ward, "The *Vihuela de mano*".

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attempt to be totally comprehensive. Ward also made another categorisation along chronological lines to give a succinct overview of the evolution of the fantasia within a broad international context. His appraisal remains unchallenged :

«Stylistically, the fantasias of Narváez and Mudarra belong to what may be called the second generation of 16th-century instrumental music and may be compared with those by Francesco da Milano and Jacobo Fogliano; the music of Valderrábano, though in some ways singular, and that of Pisador and Fuenllana belongs to the third generation together with the instrumental works of Valentin Bakfark and Annibale Padovano; and the music of Daza, like that of Vincenzo Galilei and Andrea Gabrieli, belongs to the fourth generation, though it does not share the more obvious proto-Baroque elements of this phase of 16th-century music. The music of Milán belongs to no one generation, falling between the first and second generations, and serves in a way as a bridge between the improvisatory style of the Petrucci and Attaingnant lutenists and the technically more mature style of the Francesco da Milano generation.» ⁽¹²⁾

In developing a methodology based on the two traditions embodied in the term "instrumental motet", I considered that it might have been possible to locate works along a single axis that had each of the component values as its polar opposite. Preliminary investigation of this idea proved its naivety as it became increasingly obvious that the two values were independent, although often highly interactive. The composer's creative decisions do not involve a choice between one value and the other that require compromise and the adoption of a position along a single scale. Rather, the composer's creative action results in a work which is idiomatic, because it can be accommodated on the instrument, and is simultaneously derived from an external concept or idea. The idiomatic possibilities of the instrument can influence the concept in two ways. On the one hand they may act as a shackle which restricts the free wandering of fancy and sets some kind of limit on the germinal idea, or they may provide an inspiration from within the instrument's resources which will generate music of a completely different order. Each fantasia is a unique marriage of these two forces. From this I developed the notion that each individual work was a confluence of both values and that each could be assessed independently. I saw these as axes of a co-ordinate graph. For convenience the parameters have been labelled "Concept" and "Idiom". The "Concept" parameter attempts systematically to assess the impact of both the technical and aesthetic dimensions of vocal music through the quantification of polyphonic procedures employed, of conformity to the procedures inherent in the "motet" part of the "instrumental motet". The "idiom" parameter measures the instrumental resources and textural devices employed in a given composition. Assessment of each parameter of each work establishes the location of the work within the gamut of possibilities within the entire domain. The collated data is able to be presented in table form to permit easy and detailed comparison of large repertory samples. A formula was established to convert tabulated data into numerical statistics to be utilized in various ways including presentation on co-ordinate graphs as had originally been envisaged.

These two parameters offer a common denominator; the fundamental criteria of comparison. The system of tables and graphs shows the differences between individual works with considerable subtlety and makes a wealth of information from large repertory samples readily accessible for comparative study. The methodology relies on consistent, systematically applicable criteria and necessitates the clear definition of all elements. The simplicity and manageability of the system was also considered in its design. A far more elaborate system of greater mathematical complexity was extensively tested and over half the repertory assessed before being rejected. The consistency in results between that system and the one finally adopted was an encouraging sign of the reliability of the less elaborate method. Concept and Idiom are assessed separately

(12) John Ward, "The *Vihuela de mano*", p. 247.

in each work. The elements which comprise each parameter were delineated through a preliminary survey of the entire repertory. In establishing the structure of the parameters, judgments had to be made that would allow a hierarchical structure based on general values pertaining to renaissance music. To a large extent these are defined by the repertory itself, but are also dependent upon the more global considerations. The system had to be capable of measuring the presence and relative importance of each element in each work, and allow conversion to a numerical value, which could then be plotted on a graph and used on a comparative basis. The system design also limits the maximum possible aggregate score for each parameter to 100, and can therefore be regarded as a percentage score.

The Concept Parameter

Assessment of the Concept parameter is based on an examination of the compositional processes of each work as seen in its resultant textures. Five broad textural categories are found in the literature : imitation; equal-voiced non-imitative polyphony; textures involving a *cantus firmus*; textures with one prominent voice accompanied or supported by the others; and textures where a single voice is presented alone. The last three categories can each be subdivided in two, according to the way in which the composer has organized his material within them. Division of the *cantus firmus* category depends on whether the other voices of the texture are presented in rhythmic values similar to the *cantus firmus*, or in shorter values. In both the accompanied and unaccompanied melodic textures, subdivision is according to whether or not material is organized with sequential repetition. These now eight textural categories, ranked according to their conformity to the most prevalent vocal principles and practices are shown in FIGURE 1.

The maximum score and ranking of the categories reflects the assumptions made concerning the centrality of each to principles of vocal composition, to polyphonic procedures only, and without consideration

FIGURE 1 : CATEGORIES OF COMPOSITIONAL PROCEDURE

Category No	Description	Maximum Score
1	Imitation	90
3	Cantus firmus in equal-voiced polyphony or homophony	60
4	Cantus firmus accompanied by voice(s) in shorter note values	50
2	Equal-voiced non-imitative polyphony	40
5	Accompanied melody-sequential	25
6	Accompanied melody-free	15
7	Single voice-sequential	6
8	Single voice-free	2

of any other dimensions such as music-text relationships. Both the imitative and non-imitative equal-voiced categories are defined solely by the process used in composition. Both are derived from vocal practice, but of the two, imitation is more fundamental to sixteenth-century composition.

In the fantasia literature, the textures which have been categorized as *cantus firmus* include those resembling *cantus firmus* dance textures, and those involving ostinato themes, except when the ostinato is treated imitatively. Category 3 is that of *cantus firmus* with homophony or accompanied by parts moving at a similar speed, and identifies with the use of a paraphrased *cantus firmus* in the mass or motet. The textures classified under category 4 use shorter, more lively note values above the *cantus firmus* and derived more immediately from the repertory of ensemble dance music. The pre-existence of the melodies used is not considered important in this context.

The method of division of the accompanied melodic textures into sequential or free treatment is based on the premise that sequence is in fact linear imitation. This is more prevalent in the instrumental repertory than elsewhere, and is a particular style characteristic of some composers. Categories 5 and 6 are differentiated from the imitative, and equal-voiced, non-imitative textures of categories 1 and 2 by having the predominant musical interest concentrated in one voice. In cases where a phrase or motive is reiterated as an ascending or descending stepwise sequence, there is no difficulty. A more ambiguous type of texture is particularly prominent in the music of Luis Milán, for example. It is derived from the imitative ideal, but presented in a modified form. A polyphonic complex, a complete textural unit, is restated at different pitch levels to give the effect of imitation. The uppermost voice is a theme or motive undergoing quasi-imitative treatment, cradled in a texture whose relationship to it is unchanged in the transposed repetitions. Because it represents a significant modification of the imitative technique, this type of texture has been classified as sequential accompanied melody. The distinction between free accompanied melody (Category 6), and the *cantus firmus* texture with shorter note values (Category 4) also warrants clarification. Given passages are classified as Category 4 if the prominent melody is either above an acknowledged ostinato theme or is predominantly written in note values at least four times smaller than the accompanying voice. Otherwise, the texture has been regarded as accompanied melody.

The instances of unaccompanied single voices are relatively infrequent. Their classification into sequential or free is based purely on the use of repeated melodic motives.

Numerical scores on the Concept parameter are calculated from the proportion of each fantasia that falls into the categories described above. The maximum score for each category is determined according to its relationship to motet-like vocal procedures. Categories with higher scores show a closer relationship. Each category has been subdivided into between three and seven centile ranks. The ranks are used to record the approximate percentage of a given fantasia falling into the categories defined. Categories, ranks and scores are given in FIGURE 2.

To exemplify the application of this procedure, four fantasias of diverse stylistic characteristics have been selected. The classifications and calculations for these are shown in FIGURE 3. *Fantasia 22* by Luis Milán (*El Maestro*, 1536) demonstrates many of the typical features of its author's style, with the additional characteristic that it parodies the fourth of the pavaues that he included in the book⁽¹³⁾. It abounds with examples of his particular instrumental style of quasi-imitation, as well as passages of real imitation and

(13) Modern editions in Milán, *Libro de Musica de vihuela de mano intitulado El Maestro*, ed. Leo Schrade, Publikationen Älterer Musik, 2, Leipzig, 1927; rpt Hildesheim, Georg Olms, 1967, (p. 124-31); Milán, *El Maestro*, ed. Charles Jacobs, University Park and London, Pennsylvania State University Press, 1971, p. 96-100.

FIGURE 2 : CONCEPT PARAMETER : SCORING SYSTEM

Category	Rank	Centile range	Score
1. Imitation	a	≥ 90	90
	b	80-89	75
	c	70-79	60
	d	60-69	45
	e	50-59	40
	f	25-49	20
	g	1-24	10
2. Non-imitative polyphony	a	≥ 75	40
	b	50-74	35
	c	25-49	25
	d	10-24	10
	e	1-9	4
3. Cantus firmus with homophony	a	≥ 75	60
	b	50-74	40
	c	25-49	30
	d	10-24	16
	e	1-9	8
4. Cantus firmus with smaller notes	a	≥ 75	50
	b	50-74	35
	c	25-49	26
	d	10-24	13
	e	1-9	5
5. Accompanied melody-sequential	a	≥ 75	25
	b	50-74	20
	c	25-49	15
	d	10-24	8
	e	1-9	2
6. Accompanied melody-free	a	≥ 50	15
	b	25-49	10
	c	10-24	5
	d	1-9	2
7. Single voice-sequential	a	≥ 25	6
	b	10-24	4
	c	1-9	1
8. Single voice-free	a	≥ 25	2
	b	10-24	1
	c	1-9	0

shorter passages based on both figuration and homophony. *Fantasia 18* by Mudarra (*Tres libros*, 1546) is an ostinato work based on the *cantus firmus* with the greatest proportion being written as diminutions above its reiterated theme *fa mi ut re* ⁽¹⁴⁾. From Fuenllana's *Orphenica Lyra* of 1554, *Fantasia 15* is a lengthy example of the author's complex polyphonic style. The use of imitation is extensive and the work contains a significant amount of non-imitative polyphony together with short passages where the thematic material is treated in

FIGURE 3 : CONCEPT SCORE CALCULATIONS (SAMPLE)

Milán, *Fantasia 22*, duration (semibreves) : 176

category	1	5	6	7
total semibreves	46	82	46	2
proportion of work (%)	26	47	26	1
rank	f	c	b	c
score	20	15	10	1

total : 46

Mudarra, *Fantasia 18*, duration (semibreves) : 63

category	1	4	6
total semibreves	7	53	3
proportion of work (%)	11	84	5
rank	g	a	d
score	10	50	2

total : 62

Fuenllana, *Fantasia 15*, duration (semibreves) : 212

category	1	2	3	4	5	6
total semibreves	128	48	5	15	9	7
proportion of work (%)	60	23	3	7	4	3
rank	d	d	e	e	e	d
score	45	10	8	5	2	2

total : 72

Daza, *Fantasia 22*, duration (semibreves) : 63

category	1	2	5	6	8
total semibreves	18	21	8	14	2
proportion of work (%)	28	34	13	22	3
rank	f	c	d	c	c
score	20	25	8	5	0

total : 58

(14) Modern edition in Alonso Mudarra, *Tres libros de música en cifra para vihuela*, ed. Emilio Pujol, (Coll. «Monumentos de la Música Española», 7), Barcelona, Instituto Español de Musicología, 1949, rpt 1984, p. 39-40.

various other ways ⁽¹⁵⁾ *Fantasia 22* from Esteban Daza's *El Parnasso* of 1576 is characteristic of his fantasias *de pasos largos para desenvolver las manos* that alternate passages of idiomatic writing with others in strict imitative style ⁽¹⁶⁾. It is one of the few works by Daza to include a significant amount of free polyphony.

To convert these observations into statistical data, a calculation is first made of the number of semibreves of music falling into each of the respective categories from the Concept parameter. These numbers are then converted into percentages to show the proportion of the entire work that they represent. Each proportion figure is assigned to the appropriate centile rank for each category and given a score for each category. The sum of these figures then gives a total Concept score for the work. Examining these total figures in comparison to each other confirms the general observations made above, but in a quantifiable manner.

The information gathered and calculated in this manner can also be used in table form. Presentation of a composer's work in table is able to show stylistic consistency as well as deviation or the exceptionality of particular fantasias. FIGURES 4 and 5 show the Concept material for Milán and Daza, the chronological extremes of the vihuela repertory. The data presented shows the centile ranks for each category on the Concept parameter. FIGURE 4 shows the data for the 40 fantasias by Milán plus his four *tentos*. It reveals the low levels of both imitation and non-imitative polyphony in his music, the almost complete avoidance of cantus firmus techniques and the centrality of quasi-imitation and accompanied melody to his style, together with quite extensive use of unaccompanied melodic writing. In contrast, the corresponding table for Daza's fantasias (FIGURE 5) demonstrates the high levels of imitation and lower levels of non-imitative polyphony to be the principal ingredients of his style, except for the last four of his fantasias which form a group apart. In these works the imitative and non-imitative proportions are lower, compensated by increased use of accompanied melodic textures.

The Idiom parameter

Idiom has been defined as representing the idiosyncratic instrumental resources available for use in the fantasia. The Idiom parameter is a measure of the extent to which the particular nature of the instrument is an active agent in determining the musical style of a fantasia. Three principal factors combine to produce an assessment. The first involves determining the degree to which the style of a work is generated by idiomatic resources. The second consideration is the extent to which a work fashioned by non-idiomatic ideas may have idiomatic textures incorporated into it. The mindfulness of the composer to the task of performing the work also warrants consideration as the third factor.

The Idiom parameter has been designed with seven categories shown in FIGURE 6 : 1) textural density, 2) homophony, 3) figuration, 4) accompanied melody, 5) arpeggiation, 6) ease of execution, 7) idiomatic effectiveness. The first category measures the predominant texture of each fantasia : whether it is mostly in two, three or four voices. Categories 2-5 measure the incidence of specific idiomatic textures or devices in the works. Categories 6 and 7 are not measured by the same calculation of proportion, but by overall im-

(15) Modern edition in Miguel Fuenllana, *Orphénica Lyra*, ed. Charles Jacobs, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1978, p. 167-72.

(16) Modern edition in Esteban Daza, *The Fantasias for Vihuela*, ed. John Griffiths, (Coll. «Recent Researches in Music of the Renaissance», 54), Madison, A-R Editions, 1982, p. 42-43.

FIGURE 4 : MILAN – POLYPHONIC PROCEDURES (CONCEPT)

Fantasia		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	T1	T2	T3	T4			
IMITATION	>90%																																															
	80-89%																																															
	70-79%																																															
	60-69%																																															
	50-59%																																															
	25-49%																																															
1-24%																																																
NON-IMITATIVE POLYPHONY	>75%																																															
	50-74%																																															
	25-49%																																															
	10-24%																																															
1-9%																																																
CANTUS FIRMUS with homophony	>75%																																															
	50-74%																																															
	25-49%																																															
	10-24%																																															
1-9%																																																
CANTUS FIRMUS with smaller notes	>75%																																															
	50-74%																																															
	25-49%																																															
	10-24%																																															
1-9%																																																
ACCOMPANIED MELODY sequential	>75%																																															
	50-74%																																															
	25-49%																																															
	10-24%																																															
1-9%																																																
ACCOMPANIED MELODY free	>50%																																															
	25-49%																																															
	10-24%																																															
	1-9%																																															

pression. In this sense they are undeniably more subjective, but they are dimensions that cannot be ignored. Both give an indication of the extent to which a composer may have conceived works with instrument in hand. In indicating the ease with which a fantasia may be performed, Category 6 records a judgment concerning the the extent to which the work is shaped or enhanced by specifically idiomatic devices, also a likely indication of the function of works whether they be didactic, virtuosic, or aimed at a particular level of performer. Category 7 estimates the idiomatic effectiveness of each work. This may be seen as the quotient of an equation that attempts to calculate the net musical result of a work in relation to the effort expended by the performer in achieving it. It provides an estimate of the extent to which the music may have been conceived conceptually, away from the instrument or, conversely, with the instrument involved as an active participant in the creative process.

Like the system used for the Concept parameter, the categories of the Idiom parameter have been subdivided into smaller classes. Unlike the Concept parameter, however, the Idiom categories are not mutually exclusive, so the scoring rationale is different. In this case, the maximum aggregate score of 100 is the total

FIGURE 5 : DAZA – POLYPHONIC PROCEDURES (CONCEPT)

Fantasia		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
IMITATION	>90%																						
	80-89%																						
	70-79%																						
	60-69%																						
	50-59%																						
	25-49%																						
NON-IMITATIVE POLYPHONY	1-24%																						
	>75%																						
	50-74%																						
	25-49%																						
	10-24%																						
CANTUS FIRMUS with homophony	1-9%																						
	>75%																						
	50-74%																						
	25-49%																						
CANTUS FIRMUS with smaller notes	10-24%																						
	1-9%																						
	>75%																						
	50-74%																						
ACCOMPANIED MELODY sequential	25-49%																						
	10-24%																						
	1-9%																						
	>75%																						
ACCOMPANIED MELODY free	50-74%																						
	25-49%																						
	10-24%																						
	1-9%																						
SINGLE VOICE sequential	>25%																						
	10-24%																						
	1-9%																						
SINGLE VOICE free	>25%																						
	10-24%																						
	1-9%																						

of the maximum score possible in each category. The relative weightings have been empirically determined to produce the most consistent and balanced results. The ranks and scores of each category are also shown in FIGURE 6.

In designing the statistical component of the Idiom parameter, it was recognised that, for Category 1, thin textures are easier to execute on a plucked instrument, so works predominantly in two voices score higher than three- and four-voice works. In each case at least fifty percent of a fantasia must be written in the textural density under which it is classed. Because this is sometimes not the case, a fourth rank has been included for works of great textural variability. Works falling into this class are invariably of a highly idiomatic nature, like Milán's fantasias *de consonancias y redobles*. It is thus the highest scoring of the four ranks. It appears that writing in this manner was considered by the vihuelists to be more an extension of instrumental than vocal style.

Category 2 measures the amount of chordal writing in any work. Works with at least twenty percent of their length taken up with homophonic writing receive the maximum score; smaller amounts receive fewer points. In Category 3, figuration is regarded as being music written with note values in one voice at least four times smaller than the value representing the pulse of the music. Figural textures may either be accompanied or unaccompanied. In terms of the repertory, figuration occupying ten percent of a work is considered a significant amount and thus obtains the maximum score for the category.

FIGURE 6 : IDIOM PARAMETER : SCORING SYSTEM

Category	Rank	Score
1. Textural Density	a. varied a4-a1	25
	b. >50% a2	20
	c. >50% a3	15
	d. >50% a4	5
2. Homophony	a. much (>20%)	10
	b. some	6
	c. little	3
3. Figuration	a. much (>10%)	10 5
4. Accompanied melody	a. much (>20%)	15
	b. some	10
	c. little	5
5. Arpeggiation		5
6 Ease of execution	a. extremely facile	20
	b. very facile	15
	c. facile	10
	d. difficult	0
7. Idiomatic	a. excellent	15
effectiveness	b. good	10
	c. average	5
	d. poor	0

Accompanied melody shown as Category 4 is defined in the same way as for the Concept parameter : a texture with all voices moving at a similar speed, but with melodic interest concentrated in one of the voices. The other voices generally provide a subservient background. The proportion of a fantasia constituting a high use of this textural type is twenty percent.

Very few vihuela fantasias make use of the idiomatic device of arpeggiation. They are so infrequent that no ranks are needed within Category 5.

Category 6 measures the ease of execution of a work and is subdivided into four ranks. Rank a) is reserved for works of the greatest technical simplicity, while rank b) is for works which fall well under the hand but not with the same ease. Works of moderate difficulty, the typical fantasia, are classed as rank c). Rank d) is for works exacting greater than average technical demands.

Idiomatic effectiveness, as measured in Category 7, is an estimate of the general effect of idiomatic thinking on each work. Works classed in rank a) are those whose essential conception is idiomatic, and whose musical style is predominantly generated by inherent instrumental ideas. Works of predominantly vocal or polyphonic conception, made more varied or interesting through the inclusion of specific idiomatic

devices, or even only by a keen sensitivity on the composer's part to the idiosyncrasies of the instrument, have been classed in rank b), although some exceptionally effective works have been included in rank a). Rank c) includes works of average type; those basically cast in the polyphonic mould, without special attraction from an idiomatic viewpoint, but obviously created with a workable understanding of instrumental limitations. Works included in rank d) are those of poor idiomatic effectiveness. In most cases these are works whose conceptual ideas are not adequately realizable on the vihuela, either becoming technically unmanageable or made bland by over exploitation of the instrument's resources. Musically, they are the least effective works of all.

For any given fantasia, the score on the Idiom scale is the sum of the scores pertaining to the relevant rank of each category. In Categories 1 to 4, this requires an arithmetical calculation of the proportion of each the work falling into the given category. Categories 6 and 7 unavoidably require a subjective assessment where reliability depends on the consistency of the assessor.

The Idiom calculations for the same four fantasias used to demonstrate Concept scoring are given in FIGURE 7. The fantasias by Milán and Daza display great textural variety and gain the highest possible score for Category 1, while the works by Mudarra and Fuenllana both reveal predominantly three-part textures. Milán's fantasia also employs significantly the devices measured in categories 2, 3, and 4, homophony, figuration and accompanied melody and gains the highest ranking in all three categories. The other three fantasias employ these devices to a lesser degree, with Fuenllana making no use of accompanied melody. None of the works in the sample employ arpeggiation as a device. Three works are assessed as with the standard ranking of facile with regard to ease of execution; only Mudarra's fantasia is significantly easier to perform. The fantasias by Daza and Milán are both ranked with the maximum score for its Idiomatic effectiveness while the work by Fuenllana achieves the lowest score as a result of its great polyphonic complexity and the difficulty of realizing this satisfactorily on the instrument. The total scores reflect an adequate summary of these observations.

FIGURE 7 : CALCULATION OF IDIOM SCORES (SAMPLE)

Fantasia	Categ.							Score (total)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Milán N° 22	a (25)	a (10)	a (10)	a (15)	—	c (10)	a (15)	85
Mudarra N° 18	c (15)	c (3)	a (10)	a (15)	—	b (15)	b (10)	68
Fuenllana N° 15	c (15)	c (3)	b (5)	—	—	c (10)	c (5)	38
Daza N° 22	a (25)	c (3)	b (5)	a (15)	—	c (10)	a (15)	73

Tables of Textural Types present the ranking and scoring of each vihuelist's works in the same way as for the Concept parameter. FIGURES 8 and 9 present Idiom tables for the fantasias of Milán and Daza. In FIGURE 8, Milán's works are revealed with considerable variety of textural density and homophony, while the majority make use of significant levels of both figuration and accompanied melody. Arpeggiation occurs in only three works. Ranking of ease of execution mirrors with only few exceptions the explicit indication in *El Maestro* that is arranged as a didactic work in order of increasing difficulty. The measurement of idiomatic effectiveness confirms the view that Milán was a composer close to the improvisatory tradition who composed very much with his vihuela in mind, always conscious of the performance effect.

The scores calculated from all the data when converted to percentage scores can be plotted on co-ordinate graphs. FIGURES 10 and 11 show the graphs for the fantasias of Milán and Daza. In the case of Milán, the graph reveals a basic orientation towards the lower right of the graph, that is of high Idiom scores and lower Concept scores. The greatest concentration of works is at the lower right, but there is a number of works that extend both higher on the Concept axis and lower on the Idiom axis. The general field shows considerable breadth of style, with greater diversity on the Idiom parameter than is seen for Concept.

FIGURE 10 : MILÁN - STYLE GRAPH

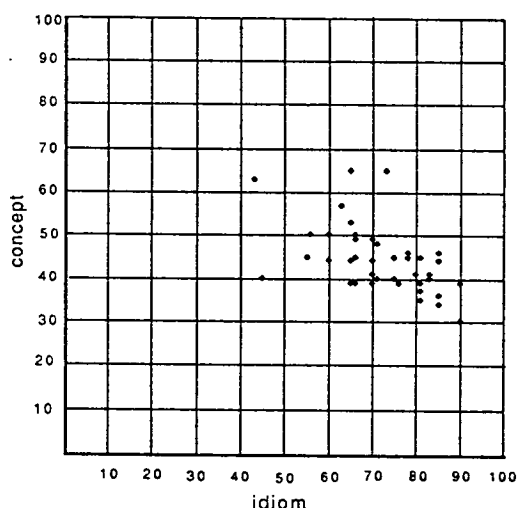
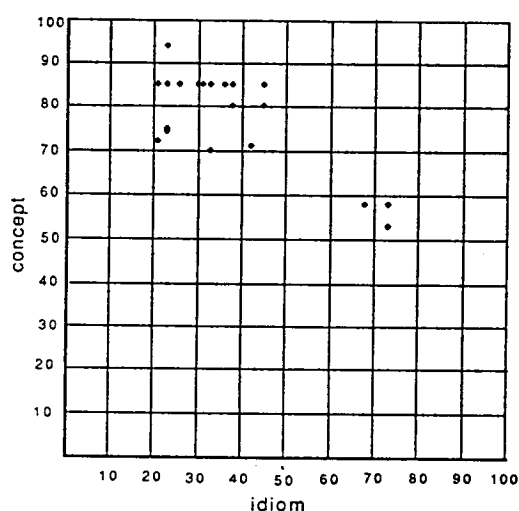


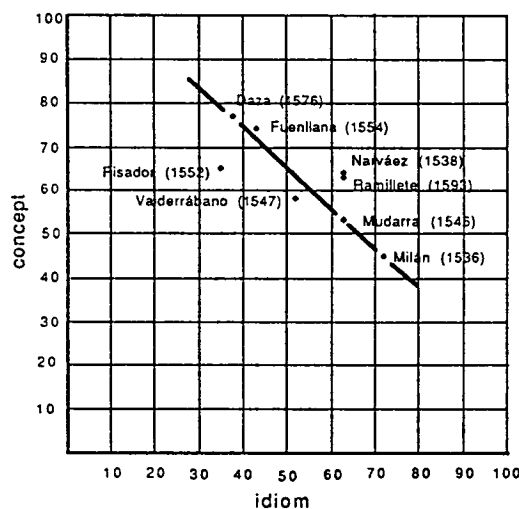
FIGURE 11 : DAZA - STYLE GRAPH



The graph of Daza's works shows the fundamentally different orientation of his style. The strong stylistic division within his output is highlighted, while the larger group of imitative fantasias is stylistically much more focussed than Milán's works and display great uniformity of style. The general view of these works is of a style highly indebted to the polyphonic principles propagated by vocal composers with relatively little concession to idiomatic instrumental resources.

To achieve an overall impression of the stylistic development of the vihuela fantasia, a single graph has been produced based on the average score on both axes for each of the composers who contributed to the genre. FIGURE 12 shows the work of each composer reduced to a single point on the graph. Here is revealed a correlation coefficient that traces a line through the works of Milán, Mudarra, Fuenllana and Daza, that is a generalized line of chronological development. Through the exceptional integration of concept and idiom values, the works of Narváez figure at a higher location on the graph and along side them the two fantasias included in the *Ramillete de flores* manuscript. The unique style of Valderrábano that avoids imitative counterpoint is located on the lower side of the coefficient as is the work of the amateur Pisador whose incapacity to realize his musical conception with the resources of the vihuela always appears to have compromised the quality of his work.

FIGURE 12 : GRAPH OF AVERAGE SCORES



In both the individual graphs and tables and the final comparative graph, the results provide a clear indication of the orientation of each composer and the degree of stylistic variability of their works. The data pertaining to each composer also demonstrates the chronological evolution of style with greater precision than has hitherto been possible. The systematic quantification of this methodology reveals the historical evolutionary trend without obliterating the idiosyncrasies of each individual contributor to the repertory. It elucidates the hypothesis that the stylistic evolution of the vihuela fantasia was based upon the increasing absorption of vocally-derived techniques. Based on this interpretation, the hitherto unexplained extinction of the vihuela may be seen as a combination of an exhausted style due to increased conformity to vocal principles and a society that had grown weary of sustaining an increasingly ascetic and introspective musical art. In this way, the conclusion of this study negates one of the frequently accepted views regarding the evolution of instrumental music. It confirms that the tradition of the vihuela came to extinction due to increased conformity to the dominant central aesthetic associated with vocal music. This is sufficient reason to call seriously into question the widely accepted generalization that the evolution of instrumental music occurred as a gradual liberation from vocal models through increased dependence upon idiomatic resources.

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